

A new analysis of the Papiamentu clause structure¹

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Abstract

*This paper reconsiders the complementiser and the tense-mood-aspect systems of the Papiamentu clause within the framework of the split CP (Rizzi 1997) and the split INFL (Pollock 1989) hypotheses, providing new evidence for the left periphery heads. It provides a detailed account of the Papiamentu morphemes involved that unifies syntactic and interpretive properties. Of particular interest is the proposal that *di* – which introduces infinitives – and *lo* – traditionally considered a future marker – both head FinP, and that *pa*, when functioning as a marker of necessity, heads MoodP. Contra certain claims in the literature, this paper argues that the order of preverbal material is not different from that of other Caribbean creoles.*

1. Introduction

The aim of our paper is to reconsider the status of two major subsets of functional (-like) items that participate in the structure of the Papiamentu² (henceforth Pp) clause. These subsets of items involve what is generally referred to as complementisers and as preverbal tense, mood and aspect markers (henceforth

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2. The Aruban variety constrains /u/ to non-final position, hence Aruban 'Papiamento'. We use the Curaçaoan spelling throughout this paper.

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TMA markers). This paper reconsiders the status of these markers within the framework of functional category theory.

Despite a long tradition of work on Pp, publications on clause structure have considered specific aspects rather than provide an overall analysis. Some work has been done on complementation, focusing mainly on the distinction between clauses introduced by *ku* and *pa*, and on finiteness of complement clauses (e.g., Van Putte 1985; Van Putte and García 1990; Mufwene and Dijkhoff 1989; Kouwenberg 1990; Muysken and Kouwenberg *forthc.*). Much attention has been paid to TMA markers, with various authors considering their interpretation, the constraints on their occurrence in different contexts, and the extent to which they conform to a creole prototype or fail to do so. Within this tradition, Maurer's monumental (1988) work stands out. Focused on the description of tense and modality, it in fact addresses many details relevant to an analysis of clause structure. The present paper builds on the work cited above. We aim at a detailed analysis of the individual morphemes involved in the structure of the Pp clause from both a syntactic and a semantic point of view.

Within the framework of the revised X-bar theory (Chomsky 1989), there has been major theoretical work on the functional projections involved in the structure of the clause. First, Pollock (1989) proposed that the INFL(ection) projection be split into several projections: NegP, T(ense)P and AGR(eement)P. Second, Kayne (1989) proposed that AGRP be split into two projections: AGRSP for agreement within the subject domain, and AGROP, for agreement within the object domain. Third, Rizzi (1997) proposed that CP be split into four projections all occurring above the subject: ForceP, TopicP, FocusP and Fin(iteness)P. On his analysis, ForceP hosts the tensed complementisers selected by the matrix clause verbs, whereas FinP hosts infinitival complementisers and possibly other material that is interpreted from within the embedded clause.

With respect to the split CP hypothesis, we will argue that the four projections proposed by Rizzi (1997) for other languages do manifest themselves in the Pp clause. Furthermore, we will argue that the Pp data bring additional evidence supporting the claim that both ForceP and FinP are required and independently motivated. Following the literature on creole languages (e.g., Muysken 1981 and the literature cited therein), we will further assume that the split INFL also contains a Mood and an Aspect projection. We will show that all these projections can be argued for on the basis of Pp data. On our analysis, the Pp clause includes the functional projections represented in (1).

- (1) Force⁰ hosts [+T] complementisers *ku* and *pa*, the former indicative, the latter subjunctive
 Topic⁰ hosts a null Topic marker
 Fin⁰ hosts [−T] *di* and [+T] *lo*, both associated with irrealis interpretations

Tense⁰ hosts *tabata*, associated with past imperfective interpretations,
or *ta*, a dummy tense marker
Mood⁰ hosts mood *pa*, encoding necessity
Aspect⁰ hosts *a*, perfective, or *ta*, gerundial

On Rizzi's (1997) analysis, FocusP occurs between TopicP and FinP. In Pp, FocusP also occurs in this position, as we will argue in Section 2.2. Focused phrases are introduced by *ta*. Whether *ta* heads Focus⁰ or occurs in another syntactic position is a question beyond the scope of this paper.

In the literature on Pp (e.g., Muysken 1981), it has been claimed that the order of the preverbal markers departs from the canonical tense-mood-aspect order. The initial position of *lo*, traditionally considered a future marker, has led to the view that Pp has a mood-tense-aspect order. On our analysis, which places *lo* in FinP (see Section 2.3), the order of these constituents does not depart from that of other Caribbean creoles.

The paper is organised in the following way. Section 2 considers the projections related to the split CP hypothesis, Section 3 the projections related to the split INFL hypothesis. Section 4 concludes the paper.

The bulk of the data on which this paper is based is taken from the literature. Some data are also drawn from Bonaire's daily newspaper *Extra*, which is published on-line, from Silvia Kouwenberg's consultation with Pp speakers and from Isabelle Therrien's field notes. Data are attributed to their source. Spelling and glosses have been uniformised (see Fn. 2).

2. Split CP

The four projections proposed by Rizzi (1997) to be part of the split CP are ForceP, TopicP, FocusP and Fin(iteness)P. These will be discussed in turn. The content of this section draws heavily on Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation a, b).

2.1. ForceP

ForceP is the projection where the relation of dependence between the embedded and the matrix clauses is expressed. Hence, ForceP is the position for selected complementisers. According to Rizzi (1997), only tensed complementisers may head ForceP. In Pp, there are two tensed complementisers: *ku* and *pa*. As will be argued below, the first one is indicative whereas the second one is subjunctive. These will be discussed in turn. Since complementisers are selected by particular classes of verbs, a sound theory of verb classes is called for. We adopt the classification in Rochette (1988; 1989), based on Long (1974),

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according to which verbs divide semantically in the following way. First, verbs divide into two major classes: effective and non-effective (or reflective) verbs. “Effective predicates are verbs which describe a subject’s relationship, whether causal, potential or other, to the performance of an action”. Examples of effective verbs are ‘to request’, ‘to see to’. Non-effective or reflective predicates “are verbs which express a (human) subject’s judgement concerning a proposition or event” (Rochette 1988: 21). Reflective predicates further divide into two classes: propositional and emotive verbs. Propositional verbs describe judgements of truth value (e.g., ‘to assert’, ‘to negate’, ‘to say’) and emotive verbs describe judgements of personal relevance (e.g., ‘to feel’, ‘to look’, ‘to be happy’). In light of these preliminary remarks, we now turn to the discussion of the Pp tensed complementisers.

2.1.1. The complementiser ku. As a complementiser, *ku* introduces the complement clauses of propositional verbs such as *bisa* ‘to say’, *realisá* ‘to understand’, *sa* ‘to know’, exemplified in (2), (3) and (4).³

- (2) *Nan a bisa papa ku mi n’ ta bai winkel di*
 3PL PERF tell Papa COMP 1SG NEG TA go shop of
sapaté.
 shoemaker
 ‘They told Papa that I wasn’t going to go (to work in) the shoemaker’s shop.’
 (= (35) in Andersen 1990: 87)
- (3) *Bubuchi a realisá ku el a keda ku un*
 Bubuchi PERF realise COMP 3SG PERF remain with a
debe di shen florin.
 debt of hundred guilder
 ‘Bubuchi realized that he was stuck with a debt of a hundred guilders.’
 (= (12) in van Putte and García 1990: 198, from Lauffer 1968)

3. Spelling of examples has been uniformised to conform to the orthography accepted in Curaçao and Bonaire. In the examples throughout this paper, preverbal *ta* is glossed as TA, so as not to prejudice the discussion of its status in Section 3, where we consider the possibility that preverbal *ta* occupies two different positions in the syntactic structure. Other preverbal markers are glossed according to their basic interpretation. Abbreviations used in the glosses are: ACC accusative, BE copula (also Focus marker), COMP complementiser, DI morpheme *di*, FU Saramaccan morpheme *fu*, FUT future tense, GER gerundive suffix, IMP imperfective marker, IRR irrealis marker, LOC locative, MO mood marker, NEG negation marker, PAST past tense, PERF perfective aspect, PL plural, POSS 3sg possessive pronoun, REL relative pronoun, RES resumptive pronoun, SG singular, SUB subjunctive marker.

- (4) *Si mi tabata sa ku e fiesta lo tabata asina*
 if 1SG PAST know COMP the party IRR PAST.BE SO
bon, lo mi a bai.
 good IRR 1SG PERF go
 ‘If I had known that the party was going to be so good, I would have gone.’
 (=34) in Kouwenberg and Michel, to appear)

Other propositional verbs that select the complementiser *ku* include *argumentá* ‘to argue’, *di* ‘to say/tell’, *duda* ‘to doubt’, *haña* ‘to think’, *imaginá* ‘to imagine’, etc. The complementiser *ku* may also be selected by verbs that are basically classified as effective and/or emotive. However, as is shown in Muysken and Kouwenberg (forthc.) and in Therrien (2004), when effective and/or emotive verbs appear with *ku*, they are interpreted as propositional verbs. Effective verbs which select complementiser *ku* in this way include *buta* ‘to see to’, *perkurá* ‘to see to’, *pidi* ‘to ask’ and *puntra* ‘to ask’. Emotive verbs include *wak* ‘to look’, *deseá* ‘to wish’, *duel* ‘to deplore’ and *spera* ‘to hope’. Verbs that can be both effective and emotive include *fula* ‘to feel’, *mira* ‘to see’, *opservá* ‘to observe’ and *sinti* ‘to feel’. The examples below show that perception verbs occurring with *ku* are not interpreted as verbs of direct perception but rather as verbs of indirect perception, thus, as propositional verbs. Hence, in (5), *fula* does not literally mean ‘to feel’ but ‘to verify’, and in (6) *wak* does not literally mean ‘to see’ but ‘to notice’.

- (5) *Nansi a fula ku su kabes a keda na su*
 Anancy PERF feel COMP POSS head PERF stay LOC POSS
kurpa ainda.
 body still
 ‘Anancy felt if his head was still on top of his body.’
 (=2) in van Putte and García 1990: 187, from Pinto 1983)
- (6) *Awor mi ta wak den mi papel nan ku mi a*
 now 1SG TA see in 1SG paper PL COMP 1SG PERF
skirbi bo karta dia 18 kaba.
 write 2SG letter day 18 already
 ‘Now I notice in my papers that I wrote you a letter the 18th already.’
 (=118) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 45)

In a similar fashion, and as has been pointed out in Maurer (1988:175) and in Therrien (2004), the complement clause of an effective verb such as *pidi* constitutes an indirect question (‘ask if’), rather than the request itself (‘ask that’), as in (7).⁴

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- (7) ... *komader Isabel a yega serka Nansi pa pidi*
 friend Isabel PERF arrive close Nancy for ask
ku e por yuda.
 COMP 3SG can help
 ‘... Nancy’s good friend Isabel came to see him in order to ask him
 if he could help her.’
 (=6f) in van Putte and García 1990: 215, from Pinto 1983)

Likewise, in (8), the complement clause selected by the emotive verb *deseá* consists in the assertion of the desire rather than in the desire itself.

- (8) *Mi ta deseá ku bo tambe lo tratami franko.*
 1SG TA wish COMP 2SG also IRR treat-1SG honest
 ‘I hope that you too will treat me honestly.’
 (=489) in Maurer 1988: 175)

Clauses introduced by *ku* are tensed, hence require an overt subject. In all the examples presented so far, the clauses introduced by *ku* manifest an overt subject, and the absence of a subject would turn these grammatical sentences into ungrammatical ones. There appears to be only one exception to this general rule; it involves expletive subjects, which, in Pp, are covert, as is illustrated in (9).

- (9) *Tabata hasi kalor.*
 PAST make heat
 ‘It was hot.’ (Kouwenberg 1990: 39)

4. Maurer (1988: 175) discusses the contrast between *puntra ku* ... and *puntra pa* ... in the examples given below, and points out that *puntra ku* ... asks for information, whereas *puntra pa* ... designates a request; in the former, the speaker is concerned not with the realization of the propositional content of the utterance introduced by *ku*, but with its truth value, in contrast with the latter. He also points out that *ku* is used interchangeably with *si* to introduce indirect questions (1988: 162).

- (i) ... *Mr. Jhon a puntra e mucha nan ku nan ta bebe un*
 Mr. Jhon PERF ask the child PL COMP 3PL TA drink a
malta
malta
 ‘... Mr. Jhon aksed the girls whether they would drink a malta.’
 (=487) in Maurer 1988: 175, from Mamber 1983: 178)
- (ii) ... *el a puntra mi pa kasa kuné*
 3SG PERF ask 1SG COMP marry with-3SG
 ‘... he asked me to marry him.’
 (=488) in Maurer 1988: 175, from Juliana 1970: 31)

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A null subject in the environment of *ku* can only be interpreted as an expletive subject, as in (10).

- (10) *Ta bo obligashón pa perkurá ku lo no por tin*
 BE 2SG obligation for see.to COMP IRR NEG can have
lantamentu di ningun sorto.
 revolt of none sort
 'It is your duty to see that there will be no revolt whatsoever.'
 (=Note (6d) in van Putte and García 1990: 215, from Rosario 1969)

On the other hand, in Pp, there are no overt subjects in non-finite clauses (see, e.g., Kouwenberg 1990). A second argument supporting the analysis according to which clauses introduced by *ku* are tensed has to do with the fact that these clauses may contain morphemes that are associated only with a tensed clause. Morphemes encoding mood, such as the irrealis *lo* and the mood marker *pa* (see Sections 2.3, 3.3, respectively), provide us with a means of distinguishing between finite and non-finite clauses in Pp.⁵ Indeed, these morphemes do occur in finite clauses, as is illustrated in (11) and (12), respectively.

- (11) *Mañan, ora asina, nos lo landa na Bonèru.*
 Tomorrow hour such 1PL IRR swim LOC Bonaire
 'Tomorrow, at this time, we will be swimming at Bonaire.'
 (=48) in Maurer 1988: 89)
- (12) *Na promé instante mi no tabata pa bai skirbi mes*
 LOC first instance 1SG NEG PAST MO go write even
riba e partikularidat.
 on the occurrence
 'At first I wasn't even going to write on the occurrence.'
 (2004-02-13:4)⁶

As we saw in (4), (8) and (10), *lo* occurs in clauses introduced by *ku*. The clause below shows that the mood marker *pa* can occur in a clause introduced by *ku*.

- (13) *Bisé ku e ta pa bai kas*
 tell-3SG COMP 3SG TA MO go house
 'Tell her that she is to go home.' (Kouwenberg's field notes)

5. This is a different view from that taken in Kouwenberg (1990), where it was assumed that finiteness can be ascertained by the acceptability of past imperfective *tabata*.

6. All the examples that are identified by year, month, day and page number are drawn from *Èxtra*, the daily newspaper of Bonaire, downloaded from <http://www.extrabon.com>.

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This argues that clauses introduced by *ku* are finite, as these morphemes are excluded from non-finite clauses. Other TMA markers may occur in complement clauses introduced by *ku*, such as the past imperfective marker *tabata* in (4), and the perfective marker *a* in (3). As we will see in Section 3, these morphemes may also occur in non-finite clauses, and hence, they do not provide information on the finite character of the clause.

Clauses introduced by *ku* are indicative as opposed to subjunctive. A first argument supporting this claim rests on the class of verbs that selects *ku* as a complementiser. As we saw above, verbs that select the complementiser *ku* are propositional verbs. Cross-linguistically, this semantic class of verbs selects an indicative complementiser. We also saw that when verbs that are basically effective (e.g., *pidi* ‘to ask’) or emotive (e.g., *deseá* ‘to want’) select *ku*, they function as propositional verbs. In these cases too, the clause introduced by *ku* is indicative as opposed to subjunctive. A second argument supporting the claim that the clauses introduced by *ku* are indicative lies in the fact that *ku* is in a paradigmatic relationship with the subjunctive complementiser *pa* which will be discussed in detail in Section 2.1.2. In (14) and (15), the sentences introduced by *pa* correspond to those introduced by *ku* in (7) and (8), respectively, showing that *ku* and *pa* are in complementary distribution.

- (14) *Ela pidi-mi pa mi bai piska kuné un biaha.*
 3SG-PERF ask-1SG COMP 1SG go fish with-3SG a time
 ‘He has asked me to go fishing with him some time.’
 (= (489) in Kouwenberg and Michel to appear)
- (15) *Mi ta deseá pa e bai.*
 1SG TA want COMP 3SG go
 ‘I want him to go.’ (in Maurer 1988: 49)

A comparison between the semantics of (7) and (14), and that of (8) and (15), respectively, reveals a difference in meaning due to the semantic difference between *ku* and *pa*. As was pointed out in Maurer (1988: 175, 1993), with *ku*, verbs like *pidi* ‘to request’, denote an assertive illocutionary act, whereas with *pa*, they denote a directive illocutionary act. Hence in (7), *pidi ku* means ‘to ask if’, whereas in (14), *pidi pa* means ‘to request that/to ask to’. Likewise, in (8), *deseá ku* means ‘to hope that’, whereas in (15), *deseá pa* means ‘to want that’.

Several arguments support the analysis of *ku* as a complementiser. First, complementisers always occur at the periphery of the clause (left or right, depending on the language). The complementiser *ku* always occurs at the left periphery of the clause, always before the subject. Second, it is a property of complementisers to be selected by specific classes of verbs. As we saw above, *ku* is selected by propositional verbs or by verbs that behave as such. Third, it

is a property of complementisers to be specified for the value + or – Tense. As we saw above, *ku* only occurs in tensed clauses; it is thus identified for the feature [+T]. Fourth, complementisers are part of a paradigm, and members of this paradigm are in complementary distribution. As we saw above, *ku* is in complementary distribution with *pa*. While *ku* is indicative, *pa* is subjunctive. Finally, it is a property of complementisers to be able to delete in specific contexts. This property has been observed in several languages. The complementiser *that* in English is a case in point, as is shown in (16).

- (16) *He said (that) he was coming.* (English)

Similarly, and as is extensively discussed in van Putte and García (1990), *ku* can be deleted, as is shown in the pairs of sentences in (17) and (18).

- (17) a. *M' a bisabo ku mi' n ta keda kas.*
1SG PERF tell-2SG COMP 1SG NEG TA stay house
'I told you that I will not stay at home.'
(=(417) in Maurer 1988: 161)
- b. *M' a bisabo mi so n' ta keda kas*
1SG PERF tell-2SG 1SG alone NEG TA stay house
awe.
today
'I told you that I will not stay at home alone today.'
(=(416) in Maurer 1988: 161)
- (18) a. *B' a kere ku mi no a ripará?*
2SG PERF believe COMP 1SG NEG PERF notice
'Did you believe that I didn't notice?'
(=(29) in van Putte and García 1990: 210, from Lauffer 1968)
- b. *B' a kere mi ta lana?*
2SG PERF believe 1SG BE crazy
'Did you really think I was crazy?'
(=(27) in van Putte and García 1990: 210, from Lauffer 1968)

However, *ku* is not always deletable, and the conditions under which it may be deleted remain a topic for further research (see Van Putte and García 1990 and Maurer 1988: 161).

In addition to introducing the complement of propositional verbs, the complementiser *ku* may introduce relative clauses. In (19), the subject position is relativised. Note that the complementiser *ku* is followed by the non-spelled-out trace of the extracted subject. There thus appears to be no *that*-t effect in Pp.

- (19) *E homber_i ku t_i ta papia ei ta mi amigu.*
the man COMP TA talk there BE 1SG friend

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‘The man that speaks there is my friend.’
(=(33) in Muysken 1977: 86)

In (20), the object position is relativised. Again, the extraction site contains no lexical material:

- (20) *E homber_i ku bo ta duna t_i e buki ta mi*
the man COMP 2SG TA give the book BE 1SG
amigu.
friend
‘The man that you give the book to is my friend.’
(=(35) in Muysken 1977: 86)

In (21)–(22), oblique positions are relativised. In these cases, there is a resumptive pronoun in the extraction site. As can be seen from the examples, the resumptive pronoun is homophonous with the 3SG pronoun. Example (22) further shows that the resumptive pronoun is not sensitive to number. In this example, the antecedent is plural but yet the resumptive pronoun appears in its singular form.

- (21) *E boto ku bo ta mará na dje ta kore ront.*
the boat COMP 2SG BE tied LOC of-RES TA run round
‘The boat to which you are tied, moves around.’
(=(148) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 51)
- (22) *E homber nan ku mi amigu ta bai merkado*
the man PL COMP 1SG friend TA go market
kuné ta di Korsou.
with-RES BE from Curacao
‘The men that my friend is going to the market with are from Curacao.’
(=(41) in Muysken 1977: 86)

Kouwenberg and Michel (to appear) argue that when *ku* occurs in the context of a relative clause, it has the properties of a complementiser rather than those of a Wh-pronoun. First, unlike relative pronouns, *ku* is invariant in number. Second, unlike relative clauses containing a Wh-pronoun, relative clauses introduced by *ku* are always tensed. Third, when the relative clause introduced by *ku* relativises an oblique position, this position contains a preposition and a resumptive pronoun as (21)–(22). Such structures are typical of relative clauses involving a general tensed complementiser and a resumptive pronoun in other languages.⁷

The complementiser *ku* may also introduce the tensed complement of temporal adverbs such as *awor* ‘now’ as in (23) and *promé* ‘before’ as in (24).

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- (23) *Pero awor ku m' a bini bo n' ta sintibo un*
 but now COMP 1SG PERF come 2SG NEG TA feel-2SG a
poko mihó?
 little better
 'But now that I have come, don't you feel a little better?'
 (=688) in Maurer 1988: 211)
- (24) *Boso ta kere ku boso ta pasa promé ku riu*
 2PL TA believe COMP 2PL TA pass before COMP river
baha?
 go.down
 'You think that you will pass before the level of the river goes down?'
 (=734) in Maurer 1988: 219)

Finally, the complementiser *ku* also introduces consequential and comparative clauses, as is illustrated in (25) and (26), respectively.

- (25) *E awa tabata asina dushi ku tur loke nan planta*
 the water PAST.BE so sweet COMP all REL 3PL plant
tabata bona.
 PAST thrive
 'The water was so sweet that whatever they planted would thrive.'
 (=3) in Maurer 1993: 244)
- (26) *Mi ta gusta sosegá hopi mas ku mi ta gusta*
 1SG TA like rest much more COMP 1SG TA like
traha.
 work
 'I like relaxing much more than I like working.'
 (Kouwenberg's field notes)

Summarising: the lexical item *ku* is an indicative [+T] complementiser selected by propositional verbs and verbs that behave as such, and occurring in a number of other tensed complementation contexts, such as relative clauses, complement of temporal adverbs, consequential and comparative clauses.⁸

7. Pp also has a paradigm of Wh-words that can be used in the formation of relative clauses involving Wh-words/phrases fronting. (See, e.g., Kouwenberg and Michel to appear; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994; Muysken 1977.) The complementiser *ku* does not occur in structures involving a Wh-word/phrase.

8. The form *ku* may also occur as a preposition with the general meaning 'with' in comitative, possessive, instrumental and manner phrases. Van Putte and García (1990) consider that both functions of *ku* may be subsumed under a single lexical entry for, as they claim, all the uses of *ku* imply the meaning of 'togetherness'. On the basis of several arguments, among which a semantic one, Therrien (2004) argues against a monosemic analysis of the form *ku*, and

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2.1.2. *The complementiser pa.* As per the analysis in Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation a), Pp *pa* is a multifunctional item, which can serve as a preposition,⁹ as a mood marker (see Section 3.3), and as a complementiser. This section is largely based on Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation a), and is restricted to discussing the properties of *pa* in its function as a complementiser.

As a complementiser, *pa* introduces the complement clauses of emotive verbs such as *ke* ‘to want’ and *deseá* ‘to desire’, as is exemplified in (27) and (28).

- (27) *Hose ke pa Ramon a bai (kaba).*
 Jose want COMP Ramon PERF go (already)
 ‘Jose wishes that Ramon were gone.’
 (= (499) in Maurer 1988: 178)
- (28) *Mi ta deseá pa e bai.*
 1SG TA wish COMP 3SG go
 ‘I want him to go.’ (in Maurer 1988: 49)

The morpheme *pa* also introduces the complement clauses of effective verbs such as *perkurá* ‘to see to’, as is illustrated in (29).

- (29) *El a perkurá pa nan siña franses.*
 3SG PERF take.care COMP 3PL learn French
 ‘He saw to it that they learned French.’
 (= (522) in Maurer 1988: 182)

she proposes that, in modern Pp, there are two lexical entries having the form *ku*: one having the function of a complementiser, and the other one that of a preposition. With Therrien, we assume that there are two lexical entries having the label *ku* in Pp (see also Lefebvre and Therrien to appear).

9. As a preposition, *pa* may select NPs and clauses. Clauses selected by the preposition *pa* may be tensed or infinitival, as in (i) and (ii) respectively:

- (i) *Tin ora mi mester tapa mi kurpa pa sangura no pikami.*
 have hour 1SG must cover 1SG body for mosquito NEG sting-1SG
 ‘Sometimes I have to cover myself for mosquitoes not to bite me.’
 (= (96) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 41)
- (ii) *Mi a bai ‘Job Centre’ pa buska trabou.*
 1SG PERF go Job Centre for find work
 ‘I went to the Job Centre to find work.’
 (= (122) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 46)

Arguments distinguishing between the complementiser use of *pa* and its use as a preposition taking clausal complements may be found in Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation a). Previous work has not distinguished between the complementiser use of *pa* and its use as a preposition taking clausal complements (e.g., Kouwenberg 1990).

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Other such verbs that select the complementiser *pa* include *pidi* ‘to ask’, *mira* ‘to see to’ and *sòru* ‘to see to’. The complementiser *pa* may also be selected by verbs that are basically classified as propositional such as *bisa* and *di*, both ‘to say/tell’. When occurring with *pa*, however, these verbs are interpreted as effective verbs meaning ‘to order’ (see Maurer 1988: 51). This is exemplified in (30) and (31).

- (30) *El a bisa nan pa nan bai.*
 3SG PERF tell 3PL COMP 3PL go
 ‘He told them to go.’ (Maurer 1988: 51)
- (31) *Mi di kuné pa e bai buska e tapa*
 1SG say with-3SG COMP 3SG go look.for the cover
unbé.
 one.time
 ‘I told him to go look for the cover right away.’
 (=486) in Maurer 1988: 175, from Kleinmoedig n.d.)

Like clauses introduced by *ku*, clauses introduced by *pa* require an overt subject. Again, there appears to be an exception to this general rule when *pa* occurs in the context of a covert expletive subject, as in (32).

- (32) *Ayera mi tabata ke pa tabata yobe.*
 Yesterday 1SG PAST want COMP PAST rain
 ‘Yesterday I wanted it to rain.’ (=13) in Kouwenberg 1990: 46)

Unlike clauses introduced by *ku*, however, clauses introduced by *pa* may not contain the mood marker *pa*, nor the irrealis morpheme *lo*. This is shown in (33) and (34), respectively.

- (33) **Mi ke pa bo ta pa bai.*
 1SG want COMP 2SG TA MO GO
 [Lit.: I want that you are to go.] (Kouwenberg’s field notes)
- (34) **Mi ke pa bo lo bai.*
 1SG want COMP 2SG IRR go
 [Lit.: I want that you will go.]¹⁰
 (=491) in Maurer 1988: 176)

Clauses introduced by *pa* may contain other temporal-aspectual markers. As is shown in Maurer (1988), clauses introduced by *pa* may contain the perfective marker *a*, as in (27) above, the past imperfective marker *tabata*, as in (32) above and in (35), or the marker *ta*, as in (36).

10. Maurer’s French translation is ‘Je veux que tu partes.’

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- (35) *Hose ke pa Ramon tabata traha aworakí.*
Hose want COMP Ramon PAST work now
‘Hose would have wanted that Ramon were working now.’
(=(499) in Maurer 1988: 178)
- (36) *Hose ke pa Ramon ta traha aworakí.*
Hose want COMP Ramon TA work now
Hose would like that Ramon were working now.’
(=(498) in Maurer 1988: 178)

But as was mentioned in Section 2.1.1, since these morphemes may also occur in non-finite clauses (see also Section 3.1.3), they do not contribute to establishing the finite character of a clause. It thus appears that the sole data-based argument for establishing the finite character of a clause introduced by *pa* in Pp is the obligatoriness of an overt subject (aside from null expletive subjects).

Maurer (1988: 176) proposes that the unacceptability of *lo* in clauses introduced by *pa* is explained by the presence of a null morpheme which marks the subjunctive.¹¹ In our framework, this would effectively mean that FinP would be headed by a null morpheme which contrasts with *lo*, null being subjunctive, *lo* being indicative. We will return to the status of *lo* in Section 3.1, but the possibility that subjunctive *pa* conditions the appearance of a null subjunctive morpheme in Fin⁰ will have to be left for future research.¹²

Similarly, the unacceptability of co-occurrence of the mood marker *pa* and the complementiser *pa* is still a question for further research. In this respect, there is a whole range of possibilities that are offered by languages in which the same form encodes both the subjunctive complementiser and the irrealis mood marker. For example, there are languages where the co-occurrence of such a complementiser and mood marker are not only possible but mandatory. Fongbe is such a language. A Fongbe clause introduced by the complementiser *ní* must contain the mood marker *ní*, as is illustrated in (37).

- (37) *Un jló ní à *(ní) wá.* (Fongbe)
1SG want COMP 2SG SUB come
‘I want you to come.’
(=(14) in Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 117)

11. Maurer (1988: 176) proposes three hypotheses for the restriction on the appearance of *lo* in clauses introduced by *pa*, the other two – which he rejects – being that *pa*-clauses are infinitives; and that the appearance of *lo* is redundant. His lengthy discussion (1988: 176–185) further shows that the acceptability of other preverbal markers in *pa*-clauses is at least partially dependent on the presence of TMA markers in the matrix clause.

12. Like Maurer (1988, 1993), Andersen (1990) proposes a null subjunctive marker.

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There are languages where both the complementizer and the mood marker may be overt, the mood marker being optionally overt. Guyanese Creole is such a language. This is illustrated in (38).

- (38) a. *Abii go glad fu jan fu* (Guyanese Creole)
 1PL go.FUT glad COMP John MO
kom bak.
 come back
 ‘We would be glad for John to come back.’
 b. *Mi a hoop fu i (*am)* (Guyanese Creole)
 1SG IMP hope COMP 3SG (*3SG.ACC)
fu duit tunait.
 MO do it tonight
 ‘I’m hoping for her/him to do it tonight.’
 (=95) in Winford 1993: 324)

Finally, Pp is not exceptional in not allowing the co-occurrence of two *pa* within the same clause. As is shown in Lefebvre and Loranger (to appear), Saramaccan (SA) presents similar data. In SA, the lexical item corresponding to Pp *pa* is *fu*, which, like Pp *pa*, is both a subjunctive complementiser and a mood marker. As is the case for *pa*, SA *fu* cannot occur in both of these functions within the same clause. This is illustrated by the contrast in grammaticality between the (a) and the (b) sentences in (39).

- (39) a. *Mi ke fu a du dati.* (Saramaccan)
 1SG want FU 3SG do that
 ‘I want him to do that.’
 (=3) in Wijnen and Alleyne 1987: 45)
 b. **Mi ke fu a fu du dati.* (Saramaccan)
 1SG want FU 3SG FU do that
 (Lefebvre’s field notes)

An account of these facts will have to await further research.

An argument supporting the analysis of clauses introduced by *pa* as subjunctive can be found in the classes of verbs that select *pa* as a complementiser: verbs that select *pa* are effective and emotive verbs. Typically, verbs belonging in these semantic classes select a subjunctive complementiser (see also Farkas 1972, for further discussion). Furthermore, and as we saw above, verbs that are basically propositional such as *bisa* and *di*, both ‘to say/tell’, are assigned the effective interpretation ‘to order’ when occurring with *pa*.

Several arguments support the analysis of *pa* as a complementiser (see Lefebvre and Therrien in preparation a). First, as a complementiser, *pa* always occurs at the left periphery of the clause, before the subject. Second, as a complementiser, *pa* is selected (by effective and emotive verbs). Third, obligatoriness of

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a subject in a clause introduced by the complementiser *pa* shows that *pa* only occurs in tensed clauses; it is thus identified for the feature [+T]. Fourth, as shown by the contrast between (7)–(8) and (14)–(15), *pa* is in complementary distribution with the complementiser *ku*. While *pa* is subjunctive, *ku* is indicative. Finally, there are a few examples where *pa* appears to be deletable, as is shown in (40). However, in most of its occurrences, it is not optional. As is pointed out in Maurer (1988: 173), the conditions under which *pa* may be deleted still remain to be determined.

- (40) *Ma mi no ke (pa) bo grita òf kanta.*
 but 1SG NEG want COMP 2SG scream or sing
 ‘But I don’t want for you to scream or sing.’
 (= (483, 484) in Maurer 1988: 173)

Summarising: in one of its functions, *pa* is a subjunctive [+T] complementiser selected by emotive and effective verbs.

2.1.3. *The morphemes ku and pa head ForceP.* Rizzi (1997) proposes that [+T] complementisers head ForceP because they constitute the link between the matrix verb and the embedded clause. An argument based on word order further reinforces his proposal. He shows that, while a tensed complementiser may be followed by a Topic phrase, it may not be preceded by it. The Pp data yield similar results.

In Pp simple clauses, TopicP precedes FocusP, as is shown in (41) (see Section 2.2 for further discussion).

- (41) *E kakalaka ta e vruminganan a kome.*
 the cockroach BE the ant-PL PERF eat
 ‘The cockroach, THE ANTS ate.’
 (= (26) in Muller 1983: 44)

For reasons that are most probably related to processing difficulties rather than to grammatical constraints, embedded clauses containing both TopicP and FocusP could not be elicited.¹³ What we were able to elicit, however, are sentences of the type in (42), containing a left dislocated constituent (*e hòmber*) (and a resumptive pronoun *e* in the extraction site), followed by a focused phrase (*ta Punda*).

- (42) *Mi ta kere ku e hòmber ta Punda e ta bai.*
 1SG TA believe COMP the man BE Punda 3SG TA go

13. For instance, Muller’s example, provided in (41), and similar examples were considered unacceptable to speakers consulted by Kouwenberg and embedded versions were similarly rejected. Yet, its citation in Muller (1983) shows that it is a possible Pp construction.

‘I believe that the man, it is to town that he is going.’
(Kouwenberg’s field notes)

As is shown in (42), the complementiser *ku* occurs – and it can only occur – to the left of the dislocated constituent and of the focused phrase, showing that *ku* heads a projection above FocusP. With Rizzi, we assume this position to be ForceP. As for the complementiser *pa*, it is not as easily separable from the clause it selects as *ku*. Hence, data similar to those in (42) involving *pa* rather than *ku* do not obtain, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (43).

- (43) **E ta bisa pa e hòmber ta Punda e bai.*
3SG TA say COMP the man BE Punda 3SG go
[Lit.: ‘She ordered that the man, it is to town that he go.’]
(Kouwenberg’s field notes)

Note however that a similar difference between indicative and subjunctive complementisers is observed in other languages as well (e.g., French or English). Given the fact that, like *ku*, *pa* constitutes the link between the matrix verb it is selected by and the embedded clause that it selects, we assume that, like *ku*, *pa* is also the head of ForceP. This is congruent with the fact that *ku* and *pa* are mutually exclusive.

There is yet a third complementiser in Pp: the [–T] complementiser *di*, which will be discussed in Section 2.3. In (41), the Topic Phrase is followed by a Focus Phrase. We now turn to the discussion of these two phrases.

2.2. TopicP and FocusP

The literature on Pp does not distinguish between Topic and Focus. Rather, it has treated all fronted constituents as instances of a single process of fronting, possibly with the exception of Muysken (1977), who tries to establish a distinction between fronted constituents introduced by *ta* (our FocusP), and those not introduced by *ta* (our TopicP).

In the course of our research, we found the data in (41), above, provided by Muller (1983: 44), exhibiting both a TopicP (*e kakalaka*) and a FocusP (*e vruminganan*) within the same sentence. This sentence shows that both TopicP and FocusP may be filled within the same clause. It also shows that TopicP and FocusP occur in this order. Muller (1983: 53) further notes that the sentence in (41) ‘has to be pronounced without any pause before *ta*’. Should a pause occur before *ta*, a resumptive pronoun will have to occur after the verb *kome*, as is shown in (44), where *komé* < *kome e* [eat 3SG]. The structure in (44) involves dislocation of *e kakalaka* rather than a topicalised structure.¹⁴

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- (44) *E kakalaka, ta e vruminga a komé.*
the cockroach BE the ant PERF eat-3SG
‘The cockroach, THE ANT ate it.’
(from Note 6 in Muller 1983: 53)

Topicalised structures remain to be further studied. As for the structures involving a focused constituent, there is some work available (e.g., Muysken 1977; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994) showing that *wh*-words and phrases, NPs, PPs, APs and verbs can be focused.

Summarising: both TopicP and FocusP may be manifested within a given clause in Pp.

2.3. *FinP*

Fin(iteness)P is the most embedded of all four split-CP projections. On Rizzi’s (1997) account, this position is headed by the [–T] complementiser. In this section, we argue that in Pp, FinP is headed by *di* when the latter is used as a [–T] complementiser.

Pp *di* is a multifunctional lexical item. This morpheme may have the function of a preposition (see, e.g., Dijkhoff 1993). In this function, *di* typically selects NPs. The morpheme *di* may also select clauses. Authors refer to *di* occurring in this context as a complementiser (e.g., Dijkhoff 1993; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994; Kouwenberg and Michel to appear; Maurer 1988). Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation c) argue that only in a subset of these cases is *di* analysable as a complementiser. They show that *di* is a complementiser only when it introduces the complement of propositional verbs such as *disidí* ‘to decide’, as is illustrated in (45).

- (45) *Un wes femenino a disidí di personalmente*
a judge female PERF decide COMP personally
bishitá e kompleho di sèl di polis.
visit the complex of cell of police
‘A female judge decided to visit personally the police cells.’
(2004-07-08:3)

14. The occurrence of a preverbal TMA marker, here perfective *a*, between the focused constituent *e vruminga* and the verb *kome* rules out the possibility that *e vruminga* occupies a VP-internal position (see Belletti 2001 for arguments for such a position). It is also worth noting in this regard that other, non-subject constituents, could appear in the focused position. Thus, in (42), the FocusP *ta Punda* appears between a left-dislocated constituent and the subject.

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This section is restricted to summarising their findings as to the properties of *di* occurring as a complementiser. As a complementiser, *di* is selected by propositional verbs such as *pidi* ‘to ask’, *disidí* ‘to decide’, *primintí* ‘to promise’, *pretendé* ‘to pretend’, *spera* ‘to hope’, *lubidá* ‘to forget’ and *pensa* ‘to think’.¹⁵ Clauses introduced by *di* are infinitival (see, e.g., Dijkhoff 1993; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994; Kouwenberg and Michel to appear; Maurer 1988). A first argument supporting this analysis is that they cannot contain a lexical subject. In (45), the empty subject is controlled by the subject of the main clause. It is thus interpreted as being coreferential with that subject. Insertion of a lexical subject after *di* in (45) would turn this grammatical sentence into an ungrammatical one, as is illustrated in (46).

- (46) **Un wes femenino a disidí di e bishitá e*
a judge female PERF decide COMP 3SG visit the

15. Considering that, when *di* is selected by propositional verbs, *di* is a complementiser, the reader may wonder why it is not analysable as a complementiser when it is selected by verbs of other semantic classes. For example, *di* may introduce the complement of emotive predicates such as *preferá* ‘to prefer’, illustrated in (i), or *kontentu* ‘content, happy’, illustrated in (ii).

- (i) ... *pa motibu ku doñonan di yate ta preferá di bini Boneiru.*
for motive COMP owner-PL of yacht TA prefer DI come Bonaire
‘... because the yacht owners prefer to come to Bonaire.’ (2004-08-11:7)
- (ii) *Mi ta kontentu di tabata kanta den koro.*
1SG BE happy DI PAST sing in choir
‘I am happy to have sung in the choir.’
(=983) in Maurer 1988: 272)

As is shown in Lefebvre and Therrien (in preparation c), building on Rochette (1988) and Würmbrand (2001), when *di* is selected by emotive predicates, it introduces events. Events are reduced clauses that are mapped onto the syntax as IPs, rather than as CPs (see, e.g., Würmbrand 2001). Thus, morphemes that introduce the complement of emotive verbs are assumed to head a position in INFL. *Di* may also introduce the complement of effective verbs, as is illustrated in (iii) and (iv).

- (iii) *Te asta bont di polis, NAPB, a purba di papia riba e*
until even union of police NAPB PERF try DI talk on the
asuntu aki.
case here
‘Until even the police union, NAPB, tried to comment on the case.’ (2004-07-08:3)
- (iv) *Di e manera si Cha Nansi a logra di rosa e tera.*
of the manner this Cha Anancy PERF succeed DI clear the ground
‘This way, Anancy succeeded in clearing the ground.’
(in Maurer 1988: 362, from Jesurun 1899)

Effective verbs select an action; actions are mapped onto the syntax as VPs (see, e.g., Würmbrand 2001). When *di* selects an action, it is a preposition and thus it heads a PP (for further discussion of this point, see Lefebvre and Therrien in preparation c and the references therein).

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kompleho di sèl di polis.
 complex of cell of police
 ‘A female judge decided to visit the police cells.’
 (Kouwenberg’s field notes)

A second argument supporting the analysis that the clause introduced by *di* is infinitival is that it is incompatible with the [+T] irrealis morpheme *lo* (Maurer 1988: 271), as shown in (47):

- (47) *Mi ta imaginámi [di (*lo) bai Merka.]*
 1SG TA imagine-1SG COMP (*IRR) go USA
 ‘I imagine to be going to the USA.’
 (Kouwenberg’s field notes)

As we saw in Section 2.1.1, these morphemes are compatible with tensed clauses. Other temporal-aspectual markers such as *tabata*, *ta* and *a* may occur in infinitival clauses, for, as was mentioned earlier, the latter may occur in both finite and non-finite clauses. Examples of their occurrence in finite clauses were provided in (2)–(4). Examples of their occurrence in non-finite clauses introduced by *di* are provided in (48)–(50).

- (48) *Mi ta imaginámi di ta kanta den koro.*
 1SG TA imagine-1SG COMP TA sing in choir
 ‘I imagine to be singing in the choir.’
 (Therrien’s field notes)
- (49) *Mi ta imaginámi di tabata kanta den koro.*
 1SG TA imagine-1SG COMP PAST sing in choir
 ‘I imagine to have (usually) sung in the choir.’
 (Therrien’s field notes)
- (50) *Mi ta imaginámi di a kanta den koro.*
 1SG TA imagine-1SG COMP PERF sing in choir
 ‘I imagine to have sung in the choir.’
 (Therrien’s field notes)

Arguments supporting the analysis of *di* as a complementiser in contexts discussed in this section are the following. First, *di* occurs at the left periphery of the clause. Second, like other complementisers, *di* is selected. As we saw, it is selected by propositional verbs, i.e., verbs which select propositions which project to CP. Since *di* introduces these propositional complements, it is likely that it is a complementiser. Third, like other complementisers, *di* is specified for a value of tense; it is [–T]. Fourth, *di* is mutually exclusive with other complementisers. For example, verbs that select *di* may also select *ku*, as is shown in the pairs of sentences in (51)–(53).

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- (51) a. *Un wes femenino a disidí di personalmente*
a judge female PERF decide COMP personally
bishitá e kompleho di sèl di polis.
visit the complex of cell of police
'A female judge decided to visit personally the police cells.' (2004-07-08:3)
- b. *Gobièrnu a disidí ku Papiamentu ta bai*
government PERF decide COMP Papiamentu TA go
skol komo idioma di instrukshon.
school as language of instruction
'The government has decided that Papiamentu is "going to school" as language of instruction' (2004-07-10:2)
- (52) a. *Ela primintí di duna mas informashon.*
3SG-PERF promise COMP give more information
'He promised to give more information.' (2004-07-13:1)
- b. *... manera ela primintí ku e lo hasi.*
manner 3SG-PERF promise COMP 3SG IRR do
'... like he promised that he would.' (2004-08-10:7)
- (53) a. *E sa tur kos i no mester pretendé di*
3SG know all thing and NEG must pretend COMP
sabelotodo tampoko.
know.it.all neither
'He knows everything and mustn't pretend to know everything.'
(2004-07-13:3)
- b. *Shaki ta pretendé ku e sa piska.*
Shaki TA pretend COMP 3SG know fish
'Shaki claims that he knows how to fish.' (2004-02-21:4)

In contrast with other complementisers, however, *di* cannot be deleted. First, no example of *di* deletion in the context of a propositional verb was found in our sample of clauses drawn from the Bonaire newspaper *Èxtra* (see Fn. 5). Second, Maurer (1988: 270) provides no example of *di* deletion in the context of a propositional verb. Finally, Kouwenberg's informants do not accept *di* deletion.

In what syntactic position does *di* occur when it is used as a complementiser? Rizzi (1997: 288) proposes that infinitival complementisers head FinP rather than ForceP. His proposal is strengthened by word order facts. Indeed, on the basis of Italian, he shows that, while the [+T] complementiser must precede the topic phrase, the [−T] complementiser must follow it. This argues that the [−T] complementiser does not occupy the same position as the [+T] complementisers. Since there is no other position available in the split CP, this position has to be FinP.

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For Pp, we saw that TopicP and FocusP must follow the complementiser *ku* (see (43)). Unlike in Italian, however, nothing can intervene between the main verb and *di*, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (54).

- (54) a. **Bo a lubidá di e lechi kumpra*
 2SG PERF forget COMP the milk buy
 [lit.: ‘You forgot to the milk buy.’]
 b. **Bo a lubidá e lechi di kumpra*
 2SG PERF forget the milk COMP buy
 [lit.: ‘You forgot the milk to buy.’]
 (Kouwenberg’s field notes)

Nevertheless, we will assume that *di* heads FinP. This is compatible with Rizzi’s (1997: 305) account of the distribution of PRO, according to which PRO requires a null case which is sanctioned by [–Fin] (thus by *di*) under government. Furthermore, in Section 3.1, we will argue that the irrealis marker *lo*, which is incompatible with *di*, also heads FinP.

Summarising: in one of its functions, the lexical item *di* is a [–T] complementiser selected by propositional verbs. In this function, *di* heads FinP, the most embedded projection of the split CP.

2.4. Summary

Rizzi’s split CP hypothesis allows for a straightforward account of the Pp data involved in the left periphery of the clause. The [+T] complementisers *ku* (indicative) and *pa* (subjunctive) head ForceP. TopicP does not show an overt head. The morpheme *ta* which introduces focused phrases occupies a position not as yet determined. The [–T] complementiser *di* heads FinP.

We have seen that it is possible for TopicP and FocusP to be filled at the same time (2.2). Further work is required to ascertain whether this is also possible in embedded environments, i.e., following complementizer *ku*, as we would expect. Furthermore, the irrealis marker *lo*, which heads FinP (see Section 3.1 for discussion), occurs in clauses introduced by *ku*, as seen in several examples. In sum, we would expect to be able to find all four positions provided by Rizzi’s split CP hypothesis filled, but this remains to be ascertained.

3. Split INFL

In discussing the INFL system of Pp, we adopt Pollock’s (1989) split INFL hypothesis according to which IP decomposes into AGR(eement)P, T(ense)P and NegP. Further, recall from the introduction that mood projects to MoodP and

that aspect projects to AspP. We will not here examine the content of AGR, considering only the preverbal tense-mood-aspect markers of Pp (see Kouwenberg 2006 for a discussion of AGR phenomena in Pp). Forms that have been considered preverbal markers in Pp are *ta*, *tabata*, *a* and *lo*.¹⁶ We draw on the range of meanings of these forms and on distributional evidence to ascertain their status in the clause structure of Pp.¹⁷ Furthermore, and perhaps most controversially, we also introduce the status of clause-internal *pa* into the discussion, and show that there is evidence which points to its use as a mood marker.

We start by considering *lo*. *Lo* occupies a surface position which is not directly preverbal, and it can cooccur with any of the other preverbal markers. The split-Infl and split-CP hypotheses make two Mood projections available in the sentence: FinP, occurring before the subject of the clause, and MoodP, occurring between the subject and the verb. Both these projections must agree in head features within a given clause. The evidence presented below suggests that *lo* occupies the head of FinP. We then turn to the preverbal markers *ta*, *tabata* and *a*. We argue that while *tabata* and *a* instantiate the functional categories Tense and Aspect, respectively, *ta* is more ambiguous; it seems to function variously as an Aspect marker as well as a dummy preverbal Tense marker. Finally, if *lo* occupies the head of FinP, this leaves MoodP available. We consider the possibility that *pa* occupies the head of MoodP. As we will see, the illocutionary force of *pa* in clause-internal position and its cooccurrence possibilities with other preverbal material provide support for this view.

3.1. *The status of lo in FinP*

Lo is characterized in the literature on Pp as a future or irrealis marker. It cooccurs freely with other preverbal material. *Lo* is exceptional in that it precedes negation, whereas other preverbal markers follow negation, as expected. This has led to the proposal that Pp does not present the canonical Tense-Mood-Aspect order otherwise observed in other Caribbean creole languages, and that it has a Mood-(Neg-)Tense-Aspect order instead (see Muysken 1981). However, such a departure from the presumed universality of ordering of functional projections is not necessary, as *lo* can be argued to head FinP rather than MoodP.

That *lo* does not appear in MoodP is seen in the fact that it precedes clitic subject pronouns. Although lexical subjects (including nonclitic subject pro-

16. The Pp habitual marker *sa*, reduced from *sabi* ‘to know how to, to have the ability to’, is best analysed as a modal verb, together with *por* ‘can, be able’, *mester* ‘must’, *ke* (Curaçaoan) / *kjèr* (Aruban) ‘want’. We shall not discuss modal verbs in this paper.

17. Among the sources which consider these issues in depth, we would like to point the reader especially to Maurer (1988) and Andersen (1990).

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nouns) appear in a position preceding *lo*, as in example (55), clitic subject pronouns follow it, as in (56). (See Kouwenberg 2006 for discussion of the status of clitic subject pronouns.) Its position, separated from the verb and other preverbal material by negation and clitic subject pronouns, suggests a rather loose relationship between *lo* and both the verb and preverbal material, pointing to its location outside IP.

- (55) ... *tur hende na kas lo tabata speré ku*
all person LOC house IRR PAST await-3SG with
ansha pa mira ...
anxiety COMP see
‘... everybody at home would have been waiting anxiously to see ...’
(=(279) in Maurer 1988: 134)

- (56) *Lo mi no lubidá.*
IRR 1SG NEG forget
‘I won’t forget.’ (=(78) in Maurer 1988: 94, from IPEP 1983)

This is further supported by the fact that *lo* cooccurs with any of the preverbal markers *ta*, *tabata*, *a*. In (4), *lo* cooccurs with *a*, in (55), it cooccurs with *tabata*, in (57) with *ta*:

- (57) *Tur kos ta indiká ku lo ta trata di un demanda*
all thing TA indicate COMP IRR TA treat of a demand
mionario.
million-ary
‘Everything points to (the fact) that (it) will involve a demand in the millions.’ (2004-02-18:1)

Lo is exceptional in yet another respect, namely in that it is unacceptable in some embedded contexts where other markers may appear. Thus, we argued above (section 2) that non-finite embedded contexts allow all preverbal markers except *lo* and *pa*. Consider the contrast between (58), where *lo* appears in an embedded clause introduced by *ku*, and (59), where it is unacceptable in an embedded clause introduced by *di*.¹⁸

- (58) *Ta duel mi [ku lo bo no bini.]*
TA deplore 1SG COMP IRR 2SG NEG come
‘I am sorry that you won’t be coming.’
(=(405) in Maurer 1988: 159)

18. Recall also that subjunctive clauses, introduced by *pa*, do not accept *lo*, for reasons unrelated to finiteness (see Section 2.1.2.).

- (59) *Mi ta imaginámi [di (*lo) bai Merka.]*
 1SG TA imagine-1SG COMP (*IRR) go USA
 'I imagine to be going to the USA.'
 (Kouwenberg's field notes)

In (58) we see that *lo* appears in a position below the complementizer *ku*. By locating *lo* in the complement of *ku*, i.e., in FinP, we account for its position between *ku* and the clitic subject pronoun. We account for the unacceptability of *lo* in (59) on the basis that $[-T]$ *di* and $[+T]$ *lo* both head FinP, and are thus in complementary distribution.

3.2. The status of *ta*, *tabata*, *a* in TP and AspP

Here we address the question of the structural positions occupied by the Pp preverbal markers *ta*, *tabata* (Curaçaoan)/*tawata* (Aruban) (henceforth *tabata* for both) and *a*. Their surface position in each case is preverbal. They are themselves preceded by negation, where present. Hence, the surface order in simple main clauses (i.e., containing no modal auxiliaries) is as in (60):

- (60) Subject (Neg) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ta \\ tabata \\ a \end{array} \right\}$ Verb

These markers are mutually exclusive in the preverbal position in simple main clauses:

- (61) a. *Mi ta kana.*
 1SG TA walk
 'I walk.'/'I am walking.'
 b. *Mi tabata kana.*
 1SG PAST walk
 'I was walking.' 'I have walked.'
 c. *Mi a kana.*
 1SG PERF walk
 'I walked.'
 (Kouwenberg's field notes)
 d. **Mi tabata a kana*
 1SG PAST PERF walk
 **Mi ta a kana*
 1SG TA PERF walk
 **Mi a ta kana*
 1SG PERF TA walk

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**Mi ta tabata kana*
 1SG TA PAST walk
 etc. (Kouwenberg's field notes)

The initial impression, then, is one of complementary distribution. However, we shall see that this initial impression is misguided, as there is in fact only partial overlap in distribution and functions of *ta*, *tabata* and *a*. Specifically, we show that there are environments where the distribution of *ta* and *tabata* overlaps, whereas *a* is excluded, suggesting that *a* occupies a different position. We argue that the different uses of these markers correspond to the preverbal positions Tense (*ta*, *tabata*) and Aspect (*a*). We further account for the distributionally and semantically distinct behavior of gerundial *ta* by arguing that *ta*, in addition to functioning as a dummy tense marker, also functions as an aspect marker, corresponding to the two positions of Tense and Aspect in the extended verbal domain.

3.2.1. Tense contexts The only Pp preverbal marker which is associated with a tense interpretation is *tabata*, which is a past imperfective marker. Preverbal *a* is perfective; this means that it is interpreted with respect to a temporal reference point which may be located in the past, present or future. Thus, Maurer (1988) provides examples of *a* in contexts involving future and generic temporal reference, as in (62) and (63), respectively.¹⁹

- (62) *Mañan atardi seis or m' a kome kaba.*
 tomorrow afternoon six hour 1SG PERF eat already
 'Tomorrow afternoon at six I will have eaten already.'
 (= (143) in Maurer 1988: 109)
- (63) *Ora e lus korá sende, kombustibel a kaba.*
 hour the light red light.up fuel PERF finish
 'When the red light lights up, fuel is finished.'
 (= (144) in Maurer 1988: 109, from Muller n.d.)

Ta can be considered virtually obligatory in main clauses in the absence of other preverbal material. It is, however, disallowed in the context of a subset of stative verbs. Goilo (1972: 24) provides a list of stative verbs which disallow *ta*, including copula *ta*, the modal verbs, and several other stative verbs. These are listed in (64):

19. The fact that *a* most frequently occurs in contexts where it is interpreted with respect to a reference point in the past has given rise to the view that it is a past marker. We claim instead that *a* has no inherent tense reference.

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(64) *ta* does not cooccur with:

- *ta* ‘to be’
- modal verbs: *tin* ‘to have’; ‘to have to’, *por* ‘to be able (may)’, *sa* (*sabi*) ‘to know’ (as in ‘to know how to, to have the ability to’), *ke* (*kjèr*) ‘to want, to be willing’, *mester* ‘to have to, must’
- other verbs: *konosé* ‘to know’ (as in ‘to be acquainted with’), *yama* ‘to be called, to be named’, *falta* ‘to be short of’

Other stative verbs either optionally cooccur with *ta* (*debe* ‘to owe’, *gusta* ‘to like’, *kosta* ‘to cost’, *bal* ‘to be worth’, *stima* ‘to love’, *meresé* ‘to deserve’, *parse* ‘to look like’, *nifiká* ‘to mean, signify’), or, like nonstative verbs, require *ta* in main clause contexts where no other TMA markers appear (*biba* ‘to live’, *keda* ‘to stay, remain’, *kere* ‘to believe’, *dura* ‘to take, last (a certain amount of time)’, *mustra* ‘to resemble, seem’, *spera* ‘to expect’). Where *ta* is optional, its presence or absence does not provide a contrast, as shown in (65) and (66) for its occurrence with *bal* ‘to be worth’:

(65) *Bondat ta bal mas ku bunitesa.*
 kindness TA be.worth more than beauty
 ‘Kindness is worth more than beauty.’
 (in Maurer 1988: 57, from Henriquez 1981)

(66) *E bal hopi mas.*
 3SG be.worth much more
 ‘It is worth a lot more.’ (in Maurer 1988: 57, from Henriquez 1981)

That *ta* can be and even must be absent with some verbs in present tense contexts immediately suggests that it is not a “true” tense marker notwithstanding its characterization as a present tense marker in most descriptions: inflectional categories are not optional. The possibility of absence of *ta* contrasts with the obligatoriness of *tabata*, if one is to obtain a past reading, as shown in (67) and (68).

(67) *Ami *(tabata) falta ainda.*
 1SG.EMPH PAST be.short yet
 ‘Only I was still missing.’
 (Kouwenberg’s field notes)

(68) *Karchi pa e konsierto *(tabata) kosta 45 dòlar.*
 ticket for the concert PAST cost 45 dollar
 ‘Concert tickets cost 45 dollars.’
 (Kouwenberg’s field notes)

Recall that *falta* disallows *ta* and that *kosta* is among the stative verbs that optionally appear with *ta*. Thus, both (67) and (68) are fine without a preverbal marker in a non-past reading.

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Some authors have noted that *ta* occurs in past tense contexts – identified as such by the presence of adverbial material – as in (69), further suggesting that it is not a present tense marker.

- (69) *Tempu nan ei bo ta bai ...*
 Time PL there 2SG TA go
 ‘Those days you would go ...’
 (=93) in Andersen 1990: 78)

Finally, *ta* also occurs in future contexts as in (70). Maurer’s detailed discussion (1988: 89–95) shows that there is no clear-cut distinction between *lo* and *ta* in future contexts.

- (70) *Nos ta gana sigur-sigur.*
 1PL TA win certain-certain
 ‘We shall surely win.’
 (=68) in Maurer 1988: 93)

Comrie (1985: 45) points out that where a so-called present tense is used to express future as well as present time reference, the only tenses distinguished grammatically are past and non-past. The acceptability of *ta* in all tense contexts thus puts in doubt the existence of a grammatical category “present tense” in Pp.

From the versatility of *ta*, and in particular its occurrence in past contexts, Andersen (1990) concludes that it marks aspect, not tense. However, he crucially relies on data which contain gerundial uses of *ta* (see Section 3.2.2). In its non-gerundial preverbal usage, *ta* may be used in contexts involving progressive, habitual, and future. As the examples in (71) show, these interpretations are dependent on the presence of adverbial material.

- (71) a. *Huan ta kanta aworakí.*
 Juan TA sing now-here
 ‘Juan is singing right now.’
 b. *Huan ta kanta otro luna.*
 Juan TA sing other month
 ‘Juan will sing next month.’
 c. *Huan ta kanta tur dia.*
 Juan TA sing every day
 ‘Juan sings every day.’
 (=5,6,7) in Maurer 1988: 82)

Moreover, punctual verbs are interpreted as unambiguously progressive only where an inflected gerundive form of the verb is used. Consider the following contrast between *ta* + gerundive *kuminsando* (< *kuminsá* + *-ando*) and *ta* + uninflected *kuminsá*:

- (72) a. *Nos ta kuminsando.*
 1PL TA begin-GER
 ‘We are beginning’
 b. *Nos ta kuminsá*
 1PL TA begin
 ‘We begin’
 (= (17, 19) in Maurer 1988: 84)

In short, *ta* lacks both a temporal and an aspectual interpretation. We now turn to the only environment where *ta* has a real aspectual interpretation, that of gerundials. Finally, in Section 3.2.3 we attempt to account for the facts.

3.2.2. *Ta in gerundial clauses.* Muysken and Kouwenberg (forthc.) argue that there is a class of direct perception complements in Pp, marked with *ta*, and that these are gerundial. These direct perception complements allow the appearance of *ta*, but not of *tabata* or *a*, in contrast with indirect perception complements, introduced by *ku*, which allow the same range as main clauses (see Section 2.1 for examples). In the context of these direct perception complements, *ta* is imperfective which it is not in its non-gerundial preverbal usage. The examples in (73) show the contrast in interpretation between presence and absence of *ta*.

- (73) a. *M’ a miré kap e palu.*
 1SG PERF see-3SG cut the tree
 ‘I saw him cut down the tree.’ (This implies that the tree was seen felled.)
 b. *M’ a miré ta kap e palu.*
 1SG PERF see-3SG TA cut the tree
 ‘I saw him cutting down the tree.’ (No implication as to seeing the tree felled.)
 (= (962–963) in Maurer 1988: 267)

Like direct perception complements, adverbial gerundials allow *ta*, not *tabata*, nor *a*. Note again the progressive interpretation of the events in the bracketed adverbial gerundials in the following examples:

- (74) *Si mi pòst e karta awe, e ta keda dos dia den*
 if 1SG mail the letter today, 3SG TA stay two day inside
e pòstbùs [ta warda]
 the mailbox TA wait
 ‘If I mail the letter today, it will spend two days in the mailbox waiting.’
 (= (120) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 45)

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- (75) *Dios sa ni kuantu aña nan tin [ta kana*
 God know not.even how.many year 3PL have TA walk
tre'i døkter.]
 after-of doctor
 'God only knows how many years they have spent running after doctors.'
 (=8) in Andersen 1990: 73)

By definition, gerundial *ta* is restricted to subordinate clauses, and the tense interpretation of the subordinate clause derives from that of the main clause. Thus, the examples above include gerundial *ta* in past tense contexts in (73) and (75), and in a hypothetical future context in (74).

3.2.3. *Tense and aspect.* Summing up what we have seen so far, non-gerundial *ta* is obligatory in the absence of other preverbal markers (*lo*, *tabata*, *a*), with the exception of a subset of the class of stative verbs which do not allow *ta* or cooccur with it optionally. We have also seen that non-gerundial *ta* has neither a temporal interpretation, appearing in all tense contexts,²⁰ nor an identifiable aspect interpretation, thus allowing a range of aspect interpretations. Finally, it cooccurs only with *lo*. In contrast, *ta* in gerundial clauses is obligatory, it is incompatible with any other preverbal markers, and it is clearly associated with an aspectual interpretation, namely that of progressive. We have also seen that preverbal *a* is associated with perfective interpretations, and that *ta*, *tabata* and *a* do not cooccur with each other, but may cooccur with irrealis *lo*. Turning first to TenseP, we consider preverbal *tabata*, with its consistent past interpretation, a "true" tense marker; it heads TenseP, therefore. To account for the fact that perfective *a* and gerundial *ta* are associated with very clear aspectual interpretations, we propose that these markers head AspP, where they are in complementary distribution.

The question arises whether non-gerundial preverbal *ta* can be considered the same as aspectual *ta*, i.e., heading AspP, or whether it is the non-past counterpart of *tabata*, heading TenseP. For the first option, we would want the non-gerundial and gerundial uses of *ta* to be brought under the umbrella of a single aspectual interpretation. We have already seen that the aspectual interpretation of non-gerundials containing *ta* is completely dependent on the nature of the verb (punctual or not) and the presence of other material, such as temporal adverbs. Recall that in order to obtain an unequivocally progressive interpretation, an inflected gerundive form is used (see (72)); this gerundive is unacceptable in gerundial contexts. In other words, for non-gerundial and gerundial *ta* to be

20. This "tense versatility" led Maurer (1988: 335) to claim that preverbal *ta* can be characterized as marking [+simultaneous].

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considered instances of the same aspect marker, *ta* would have to be considered to mark a completely undefined aspect; this is contradicted by its very specific interpretation in gerundials.

Two arguments tentatively support the alternative option, viz. that *ta* heads TenseP. First, we have already seen that *ta* occurs in place of *tabata* in past tense contexts (see (69)). Another example follows, showing that either *tabata* or *ta* may appear:

- (76) *A resultá (...) ku nan no tabata / ta bai skol*
 PERF result (...) COMP 3PL NEG PAST / TA go school
mas.
 more
 ‘(It) turned out (...) that they weren’t going to school anymore.’
 (Maurer 1988: 160)

We saw, in Section 3.2.1, that *tabata* is not optional, suggesting that where it is absent and *ta* appears instead, *ta* occupies the same structural position as *tabata*.

Second, the following example contains *tabata* and *ta* in a conjoined construction (... *tabata ß ta*); this suggests that *tabata* and *ta* head the same projections, as unlike projections cannot be conjoined.

- (77) *Anke kisas tin hende ku kisas lo*
 although perhaps have person COMP perhaps IRR PAST
tabata ß ta pensa otro.
 or TA think other
 ‘Although perhaps there are persons who perhaps would or will think otherwise.’ (2004-02-18:3)

These facts, namely that *tabata* can be replaced by *ta*, that *tabata* and *ta* can be conjoined, and that *ta* lacks a consistent temporal interpretation, are easily accounted for if we assume that *tabata* is a “true” tense marker, whereas *ta* is a dummy tense filler.

However, we have also seen that *ta* does not cooccur with *a*, and that it does not always cooccur with *lo*. This means that clauses containing *lo* and/or *a* and lacking *ta* are not overtly marked for tense. It appears, then, that the presence of *lo* and/or *a* licenses covert tense.

The subset of stative verbs which disallows *ta* is reminiscent of the situation in other Caribbean creole languages, where bare stative verbs are typically associated with a present tense interpretation.²¹ In the context of stative verbs, it seems that a temporal interpretation is recoverable, thus again licensing covert

21. This observation goes back to Voorhoeve (1957).

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tense. As we saw in Section 3.2.1, this is not the case for all stative verbs. This suggests that a more detailed theory of stative verb classes is needed, a topic which goes beyond the scope of this paper.²²

3.3. *The status of pa in MoodP*

We now turn to the clause-internal Mood position, between Tense and Aspect. We have already seen that, as head of FinpP, *lo* occupies a position external to the clause. This appears to leave clause-internal MoodP without any function. However, we shall see in the following that mood marker *pa* may appear there.

First, let us compare the sentences in (78) and (79):

- (78) *E plan tabata pa bai buska dos hamster serka nan.*
the plan PAST.BE for go search two hamster at 3PL
‘The plan was to go fetch two hamsters from them.’
(=(114) in Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 44)

- (79) *Mi tabata pa bai buska dos hamster serka nan.*
1SG PAST.BE MO go search two hamster at 3PL
‘I was (planning) to go fetch two hamsters from them.’
(Kouwenberg’s and Therrien’s field notes)

The structure in (78) is an equative construction, where the subject *e plan* and the clause introduced by *pa* are linked by copula *tabata*; the *pa*-clause describes an unrealized event. The null subject of the *pa*-clause in (78) is not coreferential with the main clause subject, and can be realized overtly, as in (80) below. In (79), on the other hand, *pa* is associated with a much more specific modal interpretation, one of necessity or obligation. The subject of the event described by *bai* ‘go’ is *mi*, and an occurrence of *mi* following *pa* is unacceptable, as seen in (81).

- (80) *E plan tabata pa mi bai buska dos hamster serka*
the plan PAST.BE for 1SG go search two hamster at
nan.
3PL
‘The plan was for me to go fetch two hamsters from them.’
(Kouwenberg’s and Therrien’s field notes)

22. For instance, we noted that the class of statives which disallow *ta* includes all the modal verbs (see (64)). On the other hand, the non-modal verbs which disallow *ta* do not appear to constitute a different semantic class from those stative verbs which allow *ta* optionally or require its presence.

- (81) **Mi tabata pa mi bai buska ...*
 1SG PAST.BE MO 1SG go search ...
 (Kouwenberg's and Therrien's field notes)

The mood interpretation of *pa* in (79), where it marks necessity, and the fact that it does not accept another occurrence of the subject, are rather reminiscent of the behavior of modal *fi* or *fu* in Caribbean English-lexicon creoles and of *pou* in Caribbean French-lexicon creoles. If *pa* is the head of MoodP in the sentences above, it is on a par with *fu* and *pou* that occupy this position (see, e.g., Lefebvre and Loranger to appear; Koopman and Lefebvre 1981, 1982; Sterlin 1989).

3.4. Summary

In this section, we have argued for a new analysis of the preverbal markers of Pp, along the lines of the overview in (1). We have shown that it is unnecessary to assume that Pp has a Mood-Tense-Aspect order, as mood *lo* in fact occupies the head of FinP. Thus Pp conforms to the canonical order Tense-Mood-Aspect observed in other Caribbean creoles. We have further noted that preverbal *ta* and *tabata* do not simply contrast as present and past tense markers. We have argued that while *tabata* occupies the head of TP as a past tense marker, we need to distinguish different uses of *ta*: gerundial *ta* heads AspP, as does perfective *a*. In contrast, we argued that so-called “present tense” *ta* is a dummy tense marker. We have presented evidence that preverbal Mood may be occupied by *pa*, with necessitive / obligative readings.

In current literature, a given form is generally assumed to signal a single lexical entry, unless it is impossible to find common semantics for all the functions associated with that form (e.g., Ruhl 1989). In the case of *ta*, we have not been able to relate both its preverbal functions (gerundial and non-gerundial) in this way. Our proposal, which assigns these different uses to different positions in the functional architecture, is perhaps the most tentative aspect of our analysis. Nevertheless, we have provided a thorough description of these functions of *ta* which may form the basis for further research.

Table 1 summarizes the analyses proposed for the functional morphemes which occupy the left periphery of the clause, in the positions made available by adopting the split CP and the split IP hypotheses.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have reconsidered two major subsets of functional(-like) items that participate in the structure of the Pp clause: that pertaining to the CP sys-

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Table 1. *Pp functional morphemes and their analysis*

Form	Description	Function	Section
<i>ku</i>	introduces finite clauses	heads ForceP, is +T, indicative	2.1.1
<i>pa</i>	1. introduces finite clauses	heads ForceP, is +T, subjunctive	2.1.2
	2. introduces events as a marker of necessity	heads MoodP	3.3
	3. introduces finite or nonfinite purposive clauses	heads PP	Fn. 8
<i>di</i>	introduces nonfinite clauses	heads FinP, is –T	2.3
<i>lo</i>	marks irrealis categories	heads FinP, is +T	3.1
<i>ta</i>	1. marks progressive in gerundial clauses; other preverbal markers are excluded from this environment	heads AspP	3.2
	2. occurs obligatorily in contexts where tense cannot be recovered from the presence of other functional material	heads TP as a dummy tense marker	3.2
	3. marks front-focussed constituents	position is unclear	2.2
<i>tabata</i>	marks past imperfective	heads TP	3.2
<i>a</i>	marks perfective	heads AspP	3.2

tem, and that pertaining to the TMA system. We have argued that the four projections proposed by Rizzi (1997) in the split CP hypothesis manifest themselves in the Pp clause. On the one hand, this reveals that Pp clause structure is on a par with that of other languages. On the other hand, it brings additional evidence supporting the claim that both ForceP and FinP are required and independently motivated. We have argued that [+T] complementisers *ku* (indicative) and *pa* (subjunctive) head ForceP, whereas [–T] complementiser *di* heads FinP.

Considering Pp's TMA markers, we have adopted a structure whereby the canonical order Tense-Mood-Aspect is accommodated within Pollock's (1989) split INFL hypothesis. We have argued that [+T] mood marker *lo* heads FinP, where it is in complementary distribution with [–T] complementiser *di*, whereas mood *pa* heads MoodP. Thus, recourse to a particular order Mood-Tense-Aspect (see Muysken 1981) can be dispensed with, making Pp on a par with other Caribbean creoles with respect to the order of morphemes within this subsystem of the grammar. We presented our analysis hoping that it will regenerate interest in Pp's functional architecture and help to shed new light on the semantic and syntactic properties of the functional morphemes.

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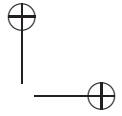
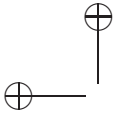
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